

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-10 PM-07 INR-10 CIAE-00

NSCE-00 NSC-10 RSC-01 DRC-01 /064 W

----- 077982

R 251828Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 291

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

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LIMDIS - MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF REVISED NORWEGIAN OPENING STATEMENT
CIRCULATED AT AD HOC GROUP MEETING OCTOBER 25, 1973.

BEGIN TEXT:

SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF THE NORWEGIAN GOVERNMENT, I
TAKE GREAT PLEASURE IN EXPRESSING OUR SINCERE SATISFACTION
THAT ANOTHER CHANNEL OF EAST-WEST COMMUNICATIONS HAS NOW
BEEN FORMALLY OPENED IN VIENNA. NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL
REDUCTIONS OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES
IN CENTRAL EUROPE HAVE BEEN MADE POSSIBLE AND ARE
INFLUENCED BY THE GENERAL MOVEMENT IN EUROPE TOWARDS
DETENTE AND NORMALIZATION. FUTURE AGREEMENTS ON THIS AND
RELATED ISSUES WILL CERTAINLY FURTHER THIS DEVELOPMENT
AND DEMONSTRATE TO WHAT EXTENT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO
CONVERT DECLARATORY POLICIES, AIMS AND ASPIRATIONS INTO
REAL AND LASTING DETENTE MEASURES.

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2. AS IN THE PAST MY COUNTRY WILL CONSISTENTLY SUPPORT

ALL EFFORTS TO FIND WAYS OF LOWERING THE LEVEL OF EAST-WEST CONFRONTATION AND INCREASE MILITARY STABILITY WHILE MAINTAINING UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR ALL CONCERNED.

3. THE PRESENT SITUATION IN EUROPE IS MARKED BY UNUSUALLY INTENSIVE DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY, PROMISING EAST-WEST NEGOTIATIONS AND EXTENSIVE CONTACTS ACROSS THE TRADITIONAL POST-WAR DIVISION LINES. ON THE WHOLE, THE SITUATION IN EUROPE PRESENTS AN IMPORTANT CHALLENGE FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WE ARE ABOUT TO BEGIN. THE CREDIBILITY OF THE DEVELOPING POLITICAL DETENTE IN EAST-WEST RELATION DEPENDS ALSO ON REAL PROGRESS IN OUR PARTICULAR FIELD OF INTEREST. MY GOVERNMENT THEREFORE CONSIDERS IT IMPORTANT THAT THE RELAXATION OF POLITICAL TENSION REFLECTS ITSELF IN A MORE STABLE MILITARY BALANCE AT REDUCED LEVELS.

4. SUCCESSFUL ARMS CONTROL MEASURES AND LIMITATIONS OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS PRESUPPOSE THAT THE PARTIES INVOLVED ARE ABLE IN THEIR GENERAL APPRECIATION OF THE POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC SITUATION TO DETECT A COMMON INTEREST IN IMPOSING MUTUAL RESTRICTIONS ON THEIR MILITARY FORCES. HOPEFULLY WE ARE TODAY MOVING TOWARDS A GREATER RECOGNITION IN BOTH EAST AND WEST OF A COMMON INTEREST IN ARMS CONTROL.

5. GENERALLY SPEAKING WE FEEL THAT AS PEACE IN EUROPE IS INDIVISIBLE, THE MEASURES THAT WE ARE AIMING FOR SHOULD TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE TOTAL SECURITY SITUATION IN EUROPE, EVEN THOUGH THE EXTENT OF THE MEASURES MAY BE ADJUSTED ACCORDING TO CIRCUMSTANCES.

6. THESE MEASURES SHOULD FURTHERMORE CONTRIBUTE TO THE DESIRABLE SITUATION WHERE MILITARY FORCES PLAY A LESS IMPORTANT POLITICAL ROLE, AND WHERE COUNTRIES, BECAUSE OF THEIR MILITARY-STRATEGICALLY IMPORTANT GEOGRAPHIC POSITION, ARE LESS EXPOSED TO POTENTIAL POLITICAL PRESSURE.

7. WHILE WE ARE STRIVING TO REDUCE POLITICAL TENSION AND OBTAIN A LOWER LEVEL OF MILITARY CONFRONTATION, WE SHOULD MAKE CERTAIN THAT A MORE STABLE BALANCE OF FORCES

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IS BEING CREATED. WITHOUT A BALANCE IN THE FORCE RELATIONSHIP, EVEN AT A LOWER LEVEL, THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL DETENTE WILL BE IMPERILLED. THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY FACTORS IMPLIES THAT NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS CAN ONLY BE REALISTIC AND PRODUCTIVE IF ALL POLITICAL, MILITARY AND GEOGRAPHICAL REALITIES ARE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT, AND THE MILITARY STABILITY IN EUROPE IS NOT IMPAIRED.

8. THE COMPLEXITY OF MBFR - GEOGRAPHICAL ASYMMETRIES, MANPOWER AND WEAPONS ASYMMETRIES, VARIED POLITICAL AND SECURITY INTERESTS - ARE SUCH THAT ONLY STRONG POLITICAL DETERMINATION COMBINED WITH PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE OF THE HIGHEST CALIBER WILL BE ABLE TO PRODUCE A BALANCED OUTCOME. THIS OUTCOME SHOULD BE TO THE BENEFIT OF ALL PARTIES CONCERNED AND TO THE DISADVANTAGE OF NONE.

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NSCE-00 NSC-10 RSC-01 DRC-01 /064 W

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9. HOWEVER, AGREEMENTS ON REDUCTIONS ALONE WILL NOT SUFFICE. IN ORDER TO BE POLITICALLY AND MILITARILY CREDIBLE SUCH AGREEMENTS MUST BE SUPPLEMENTED AND UNDERPINNED BY AGREEMENTS ON STABILIZING MEASURES, VERIFICATION AND NON-CIRCUMVENTION.

10. CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES UNDER CONSIDERATION AT THE CSCE AND THOSE ARMS CONTROL MEASURES WHICH ARE TO BE NEGOTIATED HERE IN VIENNA SHOULD ALSO SERVE AS A BASIS FOR, AND PROMOTE, AN IMPROVEMENT IN POLITICAL RELATIONS AND THUS PREPARE THE GROUND FOR A SATISFACTORY AND DURABLE PEACEFUL ORDER IN EUROPE.

11.A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY RESTS ON THE GREAT POWERS AND IT IS ONLY NATURAL THAT THEY SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD IN THE WORK AHEAD TOWARDS ESTABLISHING A BETTER MILITARY BALANCE IN EUROPE AND CONSOLIDATING DETENTE. THIS IS NOT A CALL FOR COMPLACENCY ON THE PART OF OTHERS, AND MY COUNTRY, FOR ONE, IS CERTAINLY READY TO CONTRIBUTE TO A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME.

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12. WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO FUTURE AGREEMENT ON THE PRECISE GEOGRAPHICAL AREA FOR REDUCTIONS OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES, WE HAVE AGREED THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD FOCUS ON CENTRAL EUROPE WHERE THE GREATEST NUMBER OF FORCES ARE FACING EACH OTHER. A LIMITED OPERATION COMPRISING A SPECIFIC GEOGRAPHICAL AREA INCREASES THE CHANCES OF SUCCESS. FOR OUR PART WE SHOULD LIKE TO SEE THESE NEGOTIATIONS AS A FIRST STEP IN A LONGTERM PROCESS. FROM WHAT I HAVE ALREADY STATED IT FOLLOWS THAT WE CONSIDER IT IMPORTANT TO VIEW THE PROCESS OF FORCES REDUCTION NEGOTIATIONS ALSO IN A WIDER EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE.

13. THE PRESENCE AT THESE NEGOTIATIONS ALSO OF STATES WHO WOULD NOT BE INVOLVED IN FORCE REDUCTIONS AND RELATED MEASURES IN CENTRAL EUROPE, BUT WHO ARE MILITARY ALLIES OF THE STATES DIRECTLY INVOLVED, IS AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE FACT THAT FORCE REDUCTIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE WILL HAVE AN IMPORTANT BEARING ESPECIALLY ON THE SECURITY OF THESE STATES. THIS IS NOT TO DENY THAT THESE MATTERS WILL BE OF CONCERN ALSO TO OTHER EUROPEAN STATES, AND THEREFORE, ANY MEASURES WHICH MAY BE CONTEMPLATED, SHOULD THUS BE ABLE TO PRODUCE GREATER CONFIDENCE IN EUROPE IN GENERAL. ACCORDINGLY, FORCE REDUCTIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE MUST NOT RESULT IN DIMINISHED SECURITY FOR OTHER PARTS OF EUROPE. IN FACT, WE EXPECT THAT THIS BASIC CONSIDERATION WILL BE REFLECTED IN ANY POSSIBLE AGREEMENT ON MUTUAL REDUCTIONS OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES.

14. BEFORE CONCLUDING, MR. CHAIRMAN, I SHOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS THE APPRECIATION OF MY GOVERNMENT FOR ALL EFFORTS UNDERTAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT OF AUSTRIA TO FACILITATE THE ARRANGEMENT OF THIS CONFERENCE HERE IN THE HOSPITABLE CITY OF VIENNA.

END TEXT

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 25 OCT 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973VIENNA08847
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: DG ALTERED
Executive Order: GS HUMES
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731011/aaaaahpg.tel
Line Count: 221
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 28 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <28-Aug-2001 by izenbei0>; APPROVED <30-Oct-2001 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: AD HOC GROUP MEETING
TAGS: MARR, PFOR
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005